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and were indeed the result of both combined; I mean the spirit of a gentleman, and the spirit of religion . . . Happy if learning, not debauched by ambition, had been satisfied to continue the instructor, and not aspired to be the master! Along with its natural protectors and guardians, learning will be cast into the mire, and trodden down under the hoofs of a swinish multitude.

To a reader with any respect for democracy, the whole passage is like a red rag to a bull; and the insult of the last phrase is all the more galling in that it is so utterly unconscious. It rankled in the breast of at least one other besides the author of the *New Catechism*. A periodical edited by a certain Thomas Spence, Land Nationalizer and crank preacher, in the years 1793-1795, bears the title *Pigs' Meat; or, Lessons for the Swinish Multitude*.³ And doubtless other echoes of the phrase could be found in the ephemeral literature of the time; it is unlikely that the arrogance of Burke should have aroused so much resentment in these few quarters and have passed unchallenged elsewhere.

This was the history of the phrase when Shelley adopted it; and it might appear unlikely that it could ever again be used as a satirical characterization of the proletariat. The attitude of mind which coins a phrase like this is distinctly aristocratic, and the triumph of democracy was making the expression, at least, of that attitude impossible. Nevertheless, the idea, if not the exact phrase, was used once again, by one who hated democracy almost as bitterly as he hated the smug and self-sufficient aristocracy of such as Burke. Carlyle, who in *Sartor Resartus* had written, as his message to the new generation, "The Universe is not dead and demoniacal, a charnel-house with specters; but god-like, and my Father's!"—this same Carlyle, in his old age, utters for the last time the unseemly allegory of the Swinish Multitude:

"The Universe, so far as sane conjecture

³ See British Museum Cat., *Periodicals*. One *Pennyworth of Pig's Meat; or, Lessons for the Swinish Multitude*. Collected by the poor man's advocate in the course of his reading, for more than twenty years, etc. Edited by T. Spence. 3 vols. Vols. 2 and 3 have the title *Pig's Meat*; etc.

can go, is an immeasurable Swine's-trough, consisting of solid and liquid, and of other contrasts and kinds. . . ." ⁴

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RHETORICAL CONTRASTS IN SCHILLER'S DRAMAS

II

Romanticism plays also a large rôle in *Die Braut von Messina* (February, 1803), and contrasts play an interesting, because peculiar, rôle.²³ This is Schiller's unique dramatic production. It is wholly unhistorical, loosely constructed, vaguely elaborated, supplied with a chorus, and suspected, as to its dramatic feasibility, by Schiller himself. In his preface,²⁴ "Über den Gebrauch des Chors in der Tragödie," he apologized, indirectly, for his general dramatic scheme. And though the drama begins with the distinction between "Trieb" and "Not," and though it closes with the unusual parallel,

Das Leben ist der Güter höchstes nicht,
Der Übel grösstes aber ist die Schuld,

we do not find within the drama the same kind of contrasts that constitute an important feature of his other dramas, *Die Jungfrau* and

²⁴ *Latter-day Pamphlets*; "Pig Philosophy," in *Jesuitism*, August, 1850.

²³ Such contrasts as these run all through the drama:

Laune löst, was Laune knüpfte (l. 359).
Ihr seid der Herrscher, und ich bin der Knecht
(l. 437).

²⁴ In this preface we find a number of antithetic parallels, such as: "Es ist nicht wahr, was man gewöhnlich behaupten hört, dass das Publikum die Kunst herabzieht; der Künstler zieht das Publikum herab." Also: "Das Publikum erfreut sich an dem Verständigen und Rechten, und wenn es damit angefangen hat, sich mit dem Schlechten zu begnügen, so wird es zuverlässig damit aufhören, das Vortreffliche zu fordern."

Don Carlos not excepted. There are, to be sure, contrasts in the choruses and in the dream of the father as over against that of the mother. But one has the feeling that Schiller was here consciously striving to be poetic rather than realistically effective; he was successfully trying to be romantic. Manfred, for example, compares peace with war. We would expect here a sharp contrast, such as we find in *Wallenstein* and *Tell*, but a change is introduced: both peace and war have their good sides. There is also a contrast between life and nature (ll. 228-230):²⁵

Ungleich verteilt sind des Lebens Güter
Unter der Menschen flücht'gem Geschlecht;
Aber die Natur, sie ist ewig gerecht.

One of the most poetic antithetic parallels is found in the words of Roger (ll. 283-293) in which the contrast is brought out between the evanescence of nations as a whole, and the indestructibility of the good name and great fame of the individual hero. Some of the more important pairs are: "Die Traurigen-Die Glücklichen," "Herrscher-Knecht," "Die Hohen-Die Niedern," "Liebe-Hass," "Die zarte Jugend-Des Lebens Grab," "Gewinn-Verlust," "Das Gute-Das Böse," "Wahrheit-Lüge," "Mensch-Himmel," "Geradsinn-Lüge," "Der Hölle Flüsse-Des Lichtes Quell," "rein-schuldig," etc. A number of these are used in connection with the elaboration of a favorite idea with Schiller,—the difference between then and now (ll. 1961-1972), and the inevitability of change: Cajetan says (ll. 2307-2309):

Wer besitzt, der lerne verlieren,
Wer im Glück ist, der lerne den Schmerz.

And a contrast that reminds somewhat of the

²⁵ There are a number of contrasts between "Die Welt" and "Die Natur," such as (ll. 355-360): "O meine Söhne! Feindlich ist die Welt. Nur die Natur ist redlich." See also ll. 2586-2590:

Auf den Bergen ist Freiheit. Der Hauch der Gräfte
Steigt nicht hinauf in die reinen Lüfte;
Die Welt ist vollkommen überall,
Wo der Mensch nicht hinkommt mit seiner Qual.

other dramas is found in Don Cesar's words (ll. 2687-2690):

Ja, könntest du
Des Mörders gottverhassten Anblick auch
Ertragen, Mutter, ich ertrüge nicht
Den stummen Vorwurf deines ew'gen Grams.

Though the contrast is not quite complete, it is realistic; the others are more poetic, and it is this that differentiates *Die Braut von Messina* from Schiller's other dramas. Also, we find the most elaborate contrast thus far in the two dreams. The father saw the lily consume by fire the two laurel trees, and the Arabian astrologer said that the child to be born, if a daughter, would likewise destroy the two sons and eventually the entire house. The mother saw the lion and the eagle lay their prey in the lap of the child and then lie down together pacified, and the God-fearing monk said that the child to be born, if a daughter, would likewise reconcile the two sons and eventually the entire house. Such a contrast is far removed from the simple antitheses of *Die Räuber*. Schiller had at last become an efficient romanticist. In *Die Räuber* he was predominantly a realist, in *Don Carlos* a rationalist, in *Die Braut von Messina* a romanticist.

Simple rhetorical contrasts are abundant also in *Wilhelm Tell* (February, 1804). Stauffacher says (ll. 214-215) to Gertrud:

Wohl steht das Haus gezimmert und gefügt,
Doch, ach! es wankt der Grund, auf den wir bauten.

Later (ll. 301-327) he contrasts the curse of war with the blessings of peace. Tell's concise statements frequently consist of a rhetorical contrast. Melchthal's outburst on the awfulness of his blind father's plight centers around the idea that he, with two good eyes, can give from his sea of light not one ray to his eyeless father. Rudenz uses a well-balanced antithesis (ll. 784-785):

Die Ehr', die ihm gebührt, geb' ich ihm gern;
Das Recht, das er sich nimmt, verweigr' ich ihm.

Stauffacher (l. 1118) rings a change on Wallen-

stein's "Nacht muss es sein, wo Friedlands Sterne strahlen" in his

Ist es gleich Nacht, so leuchtet unser Recht.

And at the close of the second act (ll. 1462-1465) Stauffacher indulges in a well-balanced antithesis in his remark on the relation of private gain to public good.

But it is not the individual contrasts that constitute the most instructive phase of this drama; it is the development Schiller has made, in this respect, over his practice in his earlier dramas. It is his use of dramaturgic contrasts. The very best men are placed face to face with the very worst, youth confers with old age, scenes of calm in nature follow those of storm, scenes of tranquillity in life follow those of turmoil, the old gives way to the new,²⁶ presumption and pretense are struck down when most arrogant,²⁷ death comes in the middle of life. In short, *Tell* is a drama not only of rhetorical contrasts but also of dramaturgic contrasts, and the latter are made more effective by the persistent application of the former. The most elaborate contrast is found in the fifth act, in the Johannes Parricida scenes. Tell, an impetuous peasant, assassinates, on just grounds and for the good of his countrymen, Gessler, the worst of tyrants, and is set free. The Duke of Austria, an instinctively calm nobleman, assassinates on unjust grounds and for his personal benefit, the best of emperors, and is outlawed. It is as useless to attempt to defend this long-drawn-out contrast from the dramatic point of view as it is to state that Schiller introduced it simply for the purpose of contrast. Everyone reads it, for the first time, with interest; no one likes to see it on the stage at any time. And if this most elab-

orate contrast in his last completed drama is a failure, it is owing to the fact that Schiller sinned against the laws of moderation²⁸ preached in this very drama frequently and effectively.

As to Schiller's dramatic fragments, it is necessary to consider at least *Demetrius*²⁹ (April, 1805), in which there are about seventy sharp rhetorical contrasts; they bear the strongest resemblance to those in *Wallensteins Tod*, being more realistic than poetic. From pairs in juxtaposition alone one could, if not entirely reconstruct the fragment, at least determine its general nature. For example: "Sturmvoller Reichstag-gutes Ende," "Ihn hören heisst ihn anerkennen-ihn nicht hören heisst ihn ungehört verwerfen," "Hass-Friede," "edler Feind-gefälliger Freund," "dunkle Nacht-lohe Flamme," "Wo alles eines, eines alles hält," "Stimmen wägen-Stimmen zählen," "das Kleid-das Herz," "der Sklave-der Herr," "Thaten-Ahnen," "Russe-Pole," "Verstorbene-Lebende," and so on. Even in the unelaborated sketches we see Schiller following his old scheme. He writes of the generals:

| | |
|-----------|---------------------------------------|
| Zusky | eifersüchtig, dem Boris ergeben. |
| Soltikow | gewissenhaft, dem Demetrius zugethan. |
| Dolgoruki | ehrlieh, aber schwach. |
| Basmanow | verrätherisch. |
| Mazeppa | zuverlässig. |

The fragment offers, then, nothing really new

²⁶ Schiller uses a most peculiar figure, in this connection, in ll. 2423-2426, where Attinghausen speaks of the new freedom that will sprout from the head of Walther Tell!

²⁷ Just before Tell shoots Gessler, the latter tells of the things he will do, and with still another "Ich will" on his lips, Tell's arrow strikes him down. The melodramatic element, the moving-picture-show element, is pronounced in this drama because of rhetorical and dramaturgic contrasts.

²⁸ It is as unnecessary to point out instances in which the idea of "sich mässigen" occur as it is to tabulate the list of strong contrasts. After all, Melchthal is about the only hot-headed character in the drama, and of contrasts there are many more than a hundred. He who looks for them will find them.

²⁹ Cf. *Cotta*, volume 16, p. 8. Gustav Kettner says of this drama: "In den persönlichen Konflikt greifen die Gegensätze im Leben der Völker gewaltiger ein als in irgend einem anderen historischen Drama Schillers. . . . Und ähnlich wie im 'Tell' sollte auch die Natur Russlands in ihrer wilden Öde wie in ihrer unerschöpflichen Fülle sich abspiegeln." The similarity of *Warbeck* to *Demetrius* is well known. A study of the fragmentary sketches of the former reveals the same principle in, if possible, an even larger degree.

from this standpoint, it only corroborates what we have seen from the beginning.³⁰

And now, to quote Questenberg, "Was ist der langen Rede kurzer Sinn?" That verbal contrasts are natural in a drama,³¹ that there is something not only attractive but effective about well balanced, antithetical sentences, that writers other than Schiller have frequently employed such sentences, that all poets have certain peculiarities³² of style, that contrasts aid in dramatic motivation, that Schiller, nevertheless, could have written³³ his dramas without the use of linguistic contrasts,—all of these

³⁰ It is not without significance that Hebbel also uses strong contrasts in his "Demetrius" fragment (1863). There is one in particular that resembles Schiller. Mniczek says to Demetrius, ll. 2350-2357:

Der Mensch ist in der Welt,
Was Belladonna oder Eisenhut
Im Pflanzenbeet. Sie kriechen bei der Rose,
In ihrer nächsten Nachbarschaft, hervor,
Und hauchen schwüles Gift, wie diese Duft,
Obgleich derselbe Boden sie erzeugt.
Der Gärtner reisst sie aus, doch für den Arzt
Sind sie unschätzbar!

³¹ In *Kabale und Liebe*, Ferdinand says to Luise: "Deine Fusstapfe in wilden, sandigen Wüsten [ist] mir interessanter, als das Münster in meiner Heimat" (III, 4). That is to say, a slight depression in a level, sandy, uninhabited desert is set over against a great elevation in an irregular, inhabited, town. The figure is in itself dramatic. In Schiller's own review of *Die Räuber*, he worded this same figure as follows: "Eine Rose in der sandigen Wüste entzückt uns mehr als deren ein ganzer Hain in den hesperischen Gärten."

³² Schiller, by way of illustration, made more use of the word "ein" and its various derivatives than any other German writer. He believed in unity, though, indeed because, he lived in an age of discord; hence his use of the word. Another peculiarity of Schiller's style is his perpetual use of the expression "ewig nie."

³³ In *Die Räuber*, Moor says: "Menschen—Menschen! falsche, heuchlerische Krokodilbrut! Ihre Augen sind Wasser! Ihre Herzen sind Erz! Küsse auf den Lippen! Schwerter im Busen! . . . o, so fange Feuer, männliche Gelassenheit! verwilde zum Tiger, sanftmütiges Lamm!" (I, 2). It is easy to see that Schiller could have portrayed Moor's state of mind without reference to such contrasts, by simply pronouncing a curse on insincerity in all its forms; he made it very effective, however, by using contrasts.

things are self-evident. That Schiller always had a strong tendency to become rhetorical, sometimes at the expense of dramatic economy, that his style is highly individualistic, that he used rhetorical contrasts much more frequently than did, say, Lessing or Goethe, that it is possible to trace the evolutionary development of his use of contrasts from the brief and sharp to the elaborate and poetic, that his ability as a dramatist was preëminent,—all of these statements are irrefutable. There are, consequently, only two phases of the matter the discussion of which would result in enduring good: (1) To what extent is the use of rhetorical contrasts the mark of a great dramatist? If, for example, it could be shown that Tieck, Immermann, and Heyse rarely employed them in their many dramas, while Kleist, Grillparzer, and Hebbel did, that would be strong argument in support of an important thesis. To answer this question, however, would necessitate a broad, comparative study which cannot here be undertaken. (2) Was there anything, esoteric or exoteric, about Schiller's life that explains his frequent use of contrasts? Just a few words by way of attempting to answer this question must suffice.

The first question, however, to be settled, is, did Schiller borrow the device from his predecessors? That he did not is argued, if not proved, by the fact that he used it when he was sixteen years old, when, in view of the sort of life he had lived, he could have had but little opportunity to become familiar with the works of other writers. To be more specific, *Die Räuber* was begun in 1775 and finished when he was just twenty-one years old. The three works that influenced him most in the composition of his first completed drama are, according to Erich Schmidt,³⁴ Schubart's *Zur Geschichte des menschlichen Herzens* (1775), in which there are no contrasts, Shakspeare's *Richard III*, which contains a few,³⁵ especially

³⁴ Cf. *Schillers sämtliche Werke, Säkular Ausgabe*, Bd. 3, pp. v-xxii.

³⁵ Gloster's opening lines resemble Schiller:

Our stern alarums changed to merry meetings,
Our dreadful marches to delightful measures.

But after the first act, there are very few such constructions.

in the first act, and Leisewitz's *Julius von Tarent* (1776), in which there are none³⁶ at all. It is therefore safe to assume that the conceit is Schiller's own.³⁷

And then as to generalities. Schiller took himself seriously. Only once, in *Wallensteins Lager*, did he become witty, and this was imitative; only once, in *Bittschrift*, did he become actually humorous, and this poem is humorous because Schiller wrote it. There is, to be sure, tragic humor in his dramas, just as there is some real humor in *Pegasus im Joch*, but there is more contrast than humor in this poem. And such a verse (77) as "Der Vogel und der Ochs an einem Seile" is doubly typical of Schiller. According to Madame de Staël, his conscience was his muse. His genius was inexplicable. His information, his cultural background, was acquired by hard and prolonged study of history and philosophy, art and aesthetics. That he was an idealist was not so much a matter of merit as of instinct, and, instinctive idealist that he was, he waged a sort of reconciliatory war with gross and inevitable realities. He had most definite ideas, at least after he had written his first three dramas, as to how things should be; he always realized, to his poetic sorrow, how things really were. His body and his country were poles removed from what he desired; his mind and his soul were, on this account, always worried, but

rarely disconcerted, rarely perturbed beyond the point of creating. Though his troubles would have overwhelmed an ordinary individual, there were but few times when he was forced to say with Wagner's Hans Sachs: "'s will halt nicht gehen." His life was one of storm and sunshine. A keen observer, he lived in a world of contrasts. He was speaking for himself and to Fate when he made Rudenz say to Bertha:

Ihr zeigt mir das höchste Himmelsglück
Und stürzt mich tief in einem Augenblick.

Rhetorical contrasts came, therefore, natural to him; and he liked them. In a long letter to Körner (August 29, 1787), he wrote of a certain Frau Bohlin as follows: "Ein vortreffliches Gedicht 'Wind und Männer' (als Gegensatz zu dem englischen 'Wolken und Weiber') das im D. Mercur steht ist von ihr." That is to say, Schiller found this poem "vortrefflich" because of its contrast. And in another letter to Körner (April 15, 1786), he said of himself: "Eine Mischung ohngefähr von Speculation und Feuer, Phantasie und Ingenium, Kälte und Wärme, meine ich zuweilen an mir zu beobachten." In other words, he detected, at least he thought he did, unusual contrasts in his own nature; but this is a very common observation.

To conclude, however, that Schiller used rhetorical contrasts because he liked them, or because he felt now one way now another, throws light on nothing; the same might be said of Macaulay and his style. But if we contend that Schiller voluntarily used about twelve hundred contrasts in his twelve main dramas because, as has been suggested above, of his dissatisfaction with things as they were, and because of his consequent desire to idealize the worthy by bringing it face to face with the unworthy,³⁸ and thereby show how beautiful the

³⁶ There are sentences in *Julius von Tarent* that are just the reverse of what Schiller would have written. For example, the Fürst says (V, 7) to Guido: "Wer über ein Unglück verrückt ist, sieht ja immer das entgegengesetzte Glück." This is only talking about a contrast; Schiller drew contrasts.

³⁷ That Schiller was influenced in this matter by Rousseau is highly improbable. Josef Fusseder's dissertation, *Beiträge zur Kenntnis der Sprache Rousseaus*, Leipzig, 1909, does not touch upon Rousseau's use of contrasts, and Ernst Schütte's dissertation, *Studien zum Stil von Jean-Jacques Rousseau*, Marburg, 1910, has a section entitled: I. Der Kontrast: 1. In der Komposition (z.B. der *Nouvelle Héloïse*). 2. Die Antithese innerhalb des einzelnen Satzes. Only the "Teildruck" of this study was accessible to the writer and the part dealing with contrasts is not included. But to judge from the space allotted to other phases of the matter, Schütte has very little to say about Rousseau's use of contrasts.

³⁸ Cf. Schiller's *Gedanken über den Gebrauch des Gemeinen und Niedrigen in der Kunst, Säkular Ausgabe*, Bd. 12, S. 283: "Ein gemeiner Kopf wird den edelsten Stoff durch eine gemeine Behandlung vernünftigen; ein grosser Kopf und ein edler Geist hingegen wird selbst das Gemeine zu adeln wissen." And

one was and how detestable the other, and incidentally heighten the effect of the theme treated, we indubitably approach the truth. One of his most significant poems in this connection is *Das Ideal und das Leben* (1795). And if we substitute "Der Idealismus" as the antecedent of "Er" in the place of Max in *Wallensteins Tod* (l. 3445), to which no one can object, and change "denn" (l. 3445) to "doch," "seh" (l. 3444) to "sah," and "liebenden" (l. 3449) to "läuternden," we allow Schiller (Wallenstein) not only to explain but also to appraise his many contrasts as follows:

Und kalt und farblos sah ich's (das Leben) vor mir
liegen.

Doch er stand neben mir wie meine Jugend,
Er machte mir das Wirkliche zum Traum,
Um die gemeine Deutlichkeit der Dinge
Den goldenen Duft der Morgenröte webend—
Im Feuer seines läuternden Gefühls
Erhoben sich, mir selber zum Erstaunen,
Des Lebens flach alltägliche Gestalten.

It would be, then, a grievous error to believe that Schiller did not fully appreciate the ultimate value of the imperfect. In his *Briefe über die ästhetische Erziehung des Menschen* (1795), he formulated his doctrine in this regard. After showing how art did not flourish in the various nations so long as they were politically independent and economically prosperous, and how art did flourish with the decline of the State, he sums up the whole matter in this statement: "Wohin wir immer in der vergangenen Zeit unsere Augen richten, da finden wir, dass Geschmack und Freiheit ein-

precisely the same idea is expressed in *Das Mädchen von Orleans*, the prefatory poem to *Die Jungfrau*, an idea that accompanied Schiller throughout his entire life. The first four verses of the last stanza contain the key to the whole situation:

Es liebt die Welt, das Strahlende zu schwärzen
Und das Erhabene in den Staub zu ziehen;
Doch fürchte nicht! Es giebt noch schöne Herzen,
Die für das Hohe, Herrliche erglühn.

And in a practical way, we have the same idea in *Tell* (ll. 2921-2922) where it is a question of disposing of the hat:

Der Tyrannei musst' er zum Werkzeug dienen;
Er soll der Freiheit ewig Zeichen sein.

ander fliehen und dass die Schönheit nur auf den Untergang heroischer Tugenden ihre Herrschaft gründet."³⁹ He poetized this same idea, among other places, in *Die Jungfrau* (ll. 3165-3179). It was necessary for Johanna to have her adventure with Lionel, to break her oath, to become weak, before she could really become strong. It was therefore the very colorlessness and coldness of life that gave Schiller his artistic energy; it was his country's lack of freedom that inspired him with good taste. He was an unbending idealist surrounded by the crassest of realities. And in him the statement, *le style c'est l'homme*, received a brilliant exemplification, for his life and his ideals are memorialized in the form, the style, the grammar of his works just as clearly as they are in their content.

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THE BOOKS OF SIR SIMON DE BURLEY, 1387

The inventory of the books of Sir Simon de Burley, which is given below, has been noted by various scholars, but so far seems to have escaped printing.¹ The list is interesting be-

³⁹It is hardly necessary to state that this work abounds in contrasts; but such occur rarely in Lessing's *Erziehung des Menschengeschlechts*. Even in a foot-note, *Säkular-Ausgabe*, Bd. 13, S. 43, twelfth letter, Schiller could not help but step aside and comment on two expressions that were of great interest to him: "ausser sich sein" and "in sich gehen." And in Andreas Streicher's *Schillers Flucht von Stuttgart*, Hans Hoffmann edition, 1905, p. 58, we are told that Schiller on reading Klopstock's odes found one that interested him so that, though pressed for time, he immediately wrote "ein Gegenstück dazu." This has not been preserved, but we may be certain that it contrasted strongly with Klopstock, and that he wrote it in order to make a contrast.

¹J. H. Round, *Dictionary of National Biography*: T. Gottlieb, *Ueber Mittelalterliche Bibliotheken*, Leipzig, 1890, (Number 441, Great Britain): E. Savage, *Old English Libraries*, London, 1911, p. 272. Reference is also made to the catalogue in B. Botfield's ms. book, *Private Libraries of the Middle Ages*.